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## WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 26, 1860.

All letters for the *National Era* must be addressed to Mrs. M. L. Bailey, National Era, Washington, D. C.

INDEX TO VOL. XIII.—In a few days we shall publish a complete Index to Volume XIII of the *Era*, which will be furnished free to any subscriber who may express a desire for a copy.

POSTHUMUS OF MR. SHERMAN.—We regret that we are constrained to postpone the admirable speech of Mr. Sherman, made on Friday last in the House, in explanation of his position. But the great length of the able speech of Mr. Dooley, which will be found in the *Era* of today, compels us to that of Mr. S. over until next week. The effect of this speech has been greatly to strengthen Mr. Sherman in the confidence of his friends, and to command the respect of his political opponents. The firmness and dignity which he has displayed amid the storm which has raged around him are qualities which peculiarly fit him for the post of Speaker.

THE SPARTAN BAND.—The fact came out during the discussions of Thursday last, that some forty dissidents in the House of Representatives have banded themselves together, like the forty thieves, in a written or sworn pledge to resist the organization of the House by the Republican party under the plurality rule. If the Republicans had entered into such an agreement, every Southern press would ring with the charge of treason; and, indeed, we see no difference between open treason and this covert attempt to destroy the Government. Speakers have twice been elected by the plurality rule, and no one thought of thought of denying its constitutionality.

CAPTAIN MEIGS.—It is said that Captain Meigs, the able Superintendent of the Aqueduct and other public works, was a week or two ago ordered by the Secretary of War to the Tortugas, or some other out-of-the-way place, but that Jefferson Davis, hearing of the move, went to the President and protested against it in such a style that it was given up. There are those who believe that the reputation of the Administration for integrity would not suffer by the removal of Captain Meigs out of the reach of investigating committees.

TRADE BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH.—The *N. Y. Times* publishes the most conclusive evidence that no attempt has been taken place in the trade of that city with the South. That journal gives the statements of leading importing merchants, as well as the officers and directors of the steam and other transportation lines between New York and other Southern cities. It seems that their business is rather on the increase than otherwise; and where any falling off has taken place, it is clearly traceable to causes having no connection with the slavery agitation. The merchants say that the retail dealers of the South may, in obedience to public sentiment, go to Richmond, Charleston, and other Southern cities for their supplies; but that the wholesale dealers in those places will still go to New York for the goods which they sell to the traders of the interior. It seems that the Southern wholesale merchants buy directly of the Northern importers, while the retailers buy of the jobbers, or middlemen. The effect of the change in the mode of doing business will therefore be to curtail the business of the New York jobbers, but not that of the importers, and to increase the business of the Southern cities with the interior. This is all very well. We shall rejoice to see it take place; but Southern trade built upon political excitement will have but a sturdy foundation.

A POLITICAL HEALTH ALMANAC.—A Richmond firm, W. P. Gibson & Co., have started a novel enterprise in the way of book-making. They propose to make a registry of New York and Northern merchants who are "sound" on the "grocery" for the benefit of Southern dealers. The subscribers are to pay fifty dollars a head for the honor of being enrolled among the faithful. This may be regarded as the ridiculous finale of the pompous trash of non-intercourse. The *Tribune* publishes the list for the benefit of Northern and Western country merchants.

NEBRASKA.—The "Democratic" Governor of Nebraska has, as was expected, vetoed the bill passed by the Legislature for the exclusion of slavery from the Territory. This is "leaving the people perfectly free to force and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way with a vengeance. Well, there is consolation in the reflection that Mr. Black has given a lever to the Republicans which will enable them to overturn the politics of the State, and show the Democracy on their backs.

SLAVERY AGITATION AND THE NEW YORK TIMES.—The *New York Herald* has stated that "the hotels of the city were suffering from the loss of Southern support, the *Breunig* Post has ascertained, from the books of the principal establishments, that the report is unfounded. With but one exception, all the great hotels are quite as prosperous as at this time last year, notwithstanding the opening of the new Fifth Avenue Hotel, which is the largest in the city.

THE REV. ROBERT J. BRICKENRIDGE.—This distinguished Kentucky Presbyterian divine has written a long and able letter to his nephew, the Vice President, in favor of preserving the Union. He thinks the South would reap the most disastrous consequences from disunion, and alludes to the Harper's Ferry affair as affording the highest evidence of the value of the Union to the South.

JOHN BROWN IN MINNESOTA.—The slave Democracy in the Minnesota Legislature hoped to make political capital out of the Harper's Ferry invasion, and to this end introduced resolutions denouncing that act of lawlessness. The Republicans amended the resolutions by adding a severe rebuke of the disunion Democratic orators in Congress. In this form the resolutions passed, to the great chagrin of the servile Democracy.

THE NEW YORK TRIBUNE SAYS: "Democracy need mean submission to the will of the majority, peacefully and constitutionally declared through the ballot-box. Democracy now means the destruction of the Government and the horrors of civil war, in case the so-called Democratic party is beaten at the polls."

The difference between these two kinds of Democracy is well illustrated by the rejection of a Union Democratic like Gen. Dix, as Minister to France, and the appointment to that important office of a Disunionist and Revolutionary like Mr. Faulkner, of Virginia.

## MEXICO—COLONIZATION—COMMERCIAL FREEDOM.

The grave issues and vast interests involved in the President's recommendations, in regard to Mexico and the treaty recently entered into with the Liberal party in that country, are before the American Congress and people, and demand their immediate attention. We have deemed the occasion a fitting one for reproducing an important editorial article upon our Mexican relations, which appeared in the *Era* nearly thirty years ago. It is the production of the late editor and founder of this journal, and gives expression to his matured and deliberate opinions. The reader will be struck with their applicability to the present state of affairs; and, indeed, he will be apt to think that the progress of time and events have given additional force and point to the suggestions which the article contains.

It will also be found to embrace much valuable information in regard to the condition of Mexico, which time has not rendered obsolete, while the contrasted superiority of the United States stands out with added relief. The population of this country was only twenty millions when the article was written. It now contains about thirty-two millions. At that period, California and Oregon were wildernesses untrampled by the possession of their savage or barbaric inhabitants. The former had a few feeble settlements of civilized men, but California had no American inhabitants, and its immense beds of gold, whose products have in ten years changed the relative value of the precious metals, had not been discovered. These countries are now States of the Union, with a population of six or seven hundred thousand souls on the Pacific shores. When the article appeared, Iowa and Wisconsin had not a third of their present population. Missouri was regarded as hopelessly wedded to slavery. Kansas and Nebraska, Dakota and Jefferson, were unorganized territories, in the exclusive possession of aboriginal savages. Those Territories now contain two hundred thousand civilized inhabitants, and two or three of them are ready to enter the Union as free States. In the mean time, the older States have increased in wealth and power with unprecedented rapidity. Illinois, in which the census of the present year will show a population of two millions, had, thirteen years ago, less than a third of that number. Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, have increased in numbers and wealth in almost equal proportion, while the older States of the East have kept on in their steady career of progress.

Meanwhile, Mexico has remained stationary in population, and has actually declined in civilization, in capacity for self-government, and in power. Anarchy reigns throughout her immense territories, and affairs appear to be growing from bad to worse continually. All the arguments presented in the article of 1847, for the line of policy there suggested, have redoubled force at the present moment. The proposition of Dr. Bailey, as will be seen below, was the admission of the several Mexican States into the American Union, with their own free consent. The American armies were at that time in possession of the capital of Mexico; and when the American Government had the power to hold the whole country in its subject, it is believed that had this liberal policy been acted upon by the Cabinet of Mr. Polk, it would have had the best effects upon Mexico, as well as upon the trade of this country. Population would have poured into the various States of Mexico from this country, and ere this day their institutions and customs would have been in a rapid process of assimilation to our own. The English language would have become a necessary acquisition to every man in public life, and as has been the case in Louisiana, Texas, and California, it would eventually supersede the Spanish. The act of entering the Union would of itself have dissolved the connection of Church and State, and insured the free toleration of all creeds.

The late editor of this journal had no doubt, even at that day, when the American population was two-fifths less than it is at present, that the vigor, intelligence, and superior numbers and organization of the North American Republic would prevail over the effete civilization of Mexico, and mould her institutions upon the American model. We need not say that our augmented strength and resources during the last thirteen years have placed beyond controversy what might at first be regarded as a hazardous experiment at the beginning of this period. We are now thirty-two millions; Mexico is still seven. Twenty-five years hence, we shall be sixty-four millions. It is not probable that Mexico, unaided and unorganized from without, will then contain more population than she now possesses. If we give to her new life and vigor, we shall in that degree assimilate her to ourselves. If annexation should fail to revive her energies, she will simply remain in her present insignificant position, while the Anglo-Saxon portion of the Confederacy attains to the first rank among nations.

No danger to American civilization can therefore arise from the annexation of Mexico. The all-powerful Anglo-Saxon element will predominate in the public councils in a tenfold degree, and it would be hazardous little to predict that in a quarter of a century after annexation it would be the ruling element in the Mexican portion of the Confederacy.

What we have said in regard to the prevalence of American over Mexican ideas of civilization, may be said with equal propriety as it regards freedom and slavery. The late able and sagacious editor of this journal had no more doubt on this point than on the other, when the slave States were equal in number to the free, and when they were much nearer equal in power and wealth than they now are. The article before us was written, there were fifteen free and fifteen slave States. There are at present eighteen free States and fifteen slave States. Kansas and Nebraska, which have the requisite population for admission into the Union, will in two years more, make twenty. Washington, Jefferson, and Dakota, a year or two thereafter, will make twenty-three. New Mexico and Utah, though now unorganized, are aware that the pro-slavery feeling prevalent in them is kept alive by a pro-slavery Federal Administration. Arizona has but little population of any sort, and its remoteness from the slaveholding region renders it almost impossible to introduce the institution.

The ease with which California was snatched from the grasp of the slaveholders is a convincing proof in point. No part of the Mexican possessions are so favorable to the existence of slavery as California; and yet of the two hundred thousand persons who emigrated to that country within two or three years after it became an American possession, not so many hundreds were slaves. Kansas affords another illustration. That fine country lies immediately west of Missouri, some of the largest slaveholding counties in which border upon the Territory; and yet, in spite of Border Ruffianism, backed by a corrupt Federal Administration, the freemen of the North emigrated to the Territory in overwhelming numbers, and drove out slavery.

In the first instance, freedom and slavery strove for the prize on equal terms. The Mexican inhabitants of California were too few in number to offer any material aid to either

party. In the second, and in the third, the votes were cast on the side of slavery. In each case freedom conquered. In Mexico, the circumstances are a little different. The central and southern States of that country have already a considerable population—equal, in fact, to that of the United States. The Mexicans have formally abolished slavery, and are known to entertain a strong repugnance to it. They are, in a word, free States, and their admission into the Union would at once give an immense preponderance to the free element in our Government.

Many of the Mexican States are very small in extent of territory as well as in population. It might be made a condition of their annexation, that the smaller States should be united, so as to form larger States of convenient size. The northeastern territories of the Republic might be kept in a territorial condition until the increase of population shall enable them to be admitted into the Union. If they were subjected to regular government, they would not doubt that population will flow to them from all parts of this Union and from Europe. The Central States of Mexico, which for half a century have been subjected to a condition of anarchy fatal to industry and trade, would immediately, under American auspices, become a fruitful field of Yankee enterprise. Agriculture would revive, internal trade would be more highly lucrative, and a commerce with this country would spring into existence, worth millions per annum.

Here, then, are reasons which strongly appeal to the people of this country in favor of frankly and boldly accepting its destiny. In the first place, we confer incalculable blessings upon Mexico. We redeem her from anarchy, from barbarism, from political and civil despotism; we set her on a career of wealth and prosperity, and insure her more progress in twenty years than she has made in centuries.

We add immensely to our own commerce, we stimulate our manufacturing industry, we open new fields of enterprise to our energetic and migrating population.

At the same time, we dispose of a dangerous and distracting political question. We forever settle the slavery issue as a sectional question, and destroy all the vain and wicked projects of secession, which are the great source of sectional agitation and irritation. But there is one other suggestion likely to draw attention. We shall provide homes for the free people of color and emancipated slaves, who are hunted and driven like wild beasts, or else reduced to absolute slavery. Is it not the duty of the Federal Government to provide homes for these exiles from the South? We believe that the Federal Constitution guarantees their right to life and liberty in their native States; but the effort has never been made to secure their rights to them, and with the overwhelming weight of public prejudice against them, a far stronger Government than this could scarcely render them efficient protection. If the Government, from sheer weakness, cannot perform its duty, should it not, in a spirit of humanity, render all the atonement in its power to its subjects who are the victims of racial tyranny? Should it not at least offer them a place of exile—a home and a homeland, in some congenial region, where they will be exempt from the tyranny of caste? The acquisition of Mexico would afford every facility for rendering this tardy justice to the free colored people. The Central and Southern provinces of that country are peculiarly adapted to the negro and mulatto constitution. They are inhabited by a mixed race of men, partly Spanish, partly Indian, and partly negro. The Mexican race is inferior, in many respects, by negroes—a clear proof of the absence of prejudice against color. Here, then, under American auspices, would be a congenial home for our colored population—free colored and emancipated slaves. The white immigrants to Mexico will go there to engage in trade or commerce. They will leave agriculture to the colored race, Indian and negro. The Northern provinces and the mountain districts may be cultivated by white men, but the lowlands and the low latitudes must become the future homes of the negro population of this country.

The treaty recently negotiated with the United States and Mexico has not yet been correctly reported, but its provisions have been correctly reported, and the adoption of Mexico into the Union, indeed, some treaty would not be a necessary preliminary and preparation for annexation. If we are correctly informed, the treaty provides for the right of way over the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, and perhaps two other lines of communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. These rights of way contemplate railroads or canals, to be built and managed by Americans. The treaty also provides for commercial intercourse between the two countries on a very liberal scale; and the effect of these measures must be to introduce American population and American ideas into Mexico, and thereby soften prejudices, and prepare the way for a more intimate union.

In addition to these considerations, it is remarkable that the *Journal* Government is by far the most suitable one which Mexico has ever had with which to negotiate a treaty of union. That Government has not only disavowed the connection of Church and State, but it has dispossessed the Church of its immense wealth, which it has extorted from the ignorant people of the nation, and which it has for generations used in keeping the people subject to its control. With this hideous rump of ignorance and intolerance out of the way, the people will be enabled, at least under American auspices, to commence a career of mental as well as material progress.

We throw out these suggestions for the consideration of the country and of Congress, and trust that Republicans will look at the narrow scope of our Mexican relations, not in the narrow spirit of political antagonism, but from the standpoint of history and philosophy. We have seen in the goodness of motive which has actuated the Administration in its Mexican policy, but in our judgment, it has been wiser than it knows. It has initiated a policy which will not bear the fruits or be attended by the results which it desires and contemplates.

We again commend the article of Dr. Bailey to the attention of Republicans. It throws a broad ray of light upon the great question now before Congress and the nation, which must strike the attention of reflecting men. Mr. Henry C. Carey, known by various works on political economy, has challenged W. C. Bryant, editor of the *Post*, to a newspaper discussion of the tariff question. Mr. Bryant declines, on the ground that he has no time to spare for what he considers an unequalled and unprofitable discussion.

The Senate of Maryland, says the *Sun*, has resolutions requesting the Maryland Representatives in Congress to take such steps as are necessary to call upon the Government to negotiate a treaty with Great Britain for the return of slave property belonging to American citizens that may be found in her provinces.

## UNITED STATES AND MEXICO—PLAN OF PACIFICATION AND CONTINENTAL UNION.

"There is a mysterious connection between the destinies of this country and those of Mexico." Such was a sentiment expressed by Mr. Calhoun in his celebrated speech on the war question last winter. Whether that far-seeing Senator had in his mind all the reasons that might suggest such a remark, it is not necessary to inquire. We adopt and repeat the sentiment: "There is a mysterious connection between the destinies of this country and those of Mexico."

At the beginning of the century, few, if any, statesmen foresaw the rapid growth of the United States, or the bearing of this growth on the fortunes of the Spanish dominion in North America. During the last ten years of the last century, we were humbly negotiating for the free navigation of the Mississippi; and Congress instructed Mr. Carmichael, in 1790, to urge on the Spanish Government, as inducements to concede this, the considerations, that the United States would be a safer neighbor than Britain, to Spain; that conquest was repugnant to the genius of our Government; that it was "not our interest to cross the Mississippi for ages"; that it "never will be our interest to remain connected with those who do so." In the beginning of this century, all that President Jefferson asked of Napoleon, was the cession of New Orleans and of the Floridas, with the Mississippi as the final boundary of our possessions; and at last he was fairly forced to take the whole of Louisiana!

How short-sighted is the wisdom of the wisest! Some of those statesmen have lived to see the seat of American empire transferred from the Atlantic slope to the west of the Alleghenies, and the Mississippi river, which was to be the perpetual western boundary of American territory, passing far to the east of its central point!

Now, cast your eye on the map of North America. An energetic race of people, speaking one language, assimilated under one system of free institutions favorable to the utmost development of human faculties, has taken possession of the best portion of the continent, stretching from the great chain of inland seas on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south, and indented on the Atlantic seaboard with numerous commodious and secure harbors. It has acquired not only the free, but the safe navigation of the central river of the Mississippi valley. It has secured every harbor on the northern coast of the Gulf of Mexico. It passes beyond the Mississippi—builds States upon its western shores—stretches onward upon the fourth parallel of latitude to the Rocky Mountains, surmounts those formidable barriers, pours down their western declivities, and, in 1846, finds itself in safe possession of seven degrees of the Pacific coast. It has belted the continent with its power—one people, one language, one mind, prevailing from ocean to ocean. The Government which fifty years ago trembled for its stability at the bare idea of colonization beyond the Alleghenies, is now sending the mail to American colonists across the Rocky Mountains.

The people who have accomplished these results, meantime, have multiplied from three to twenty millions, and the old world is now pouring its hundreds of thousands, the excess of its population, into the country which they have opened.

But it was only about the fortieth degree of latitude that their energies had scope, and the tide of population could roll onward to the Pacific. Below that, reaching down ten degrees to the Gulf of Mexico, progress was arrested; and short distance beyond the Mississippi, not by natural barriers—mountains, lakes, or deserts—but by another empire, running up the sixteenth degree of latitude to near the thirtieth, in a narrow slip between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, and thence upwards from thirty to forty-two degrees, between the Pacific on one side and two-thirds of the western boundary of this country on the other; and this boundary, not natural, but artificial, depending upon parchment deeds and titles. The portion of Mexico thus bounded, pressed upon by the restless energies of the United States, constitutes its larger portion, and yet contains scarcely any population, while the whole of Mexico has but eight souls to the square mile. The race which made it an empire has failed to establish institutions favorable to the assimilation of the various classes of people under its ascendancy, or to the development of their energies. The people languish. Five millions when we were three, they are now only seven millions, while we are twenty. Agriculture, manufactures, commerce, are all at a stand. Civilization struggles for life.

What is to be expected when two such races, so contrasted in all the elements of power, are brought into immediate juxtaposition, without the impediment of any natural barrier—a vast wilderness owned by the one, inviting the reckless adventures of the other? Texas is first settled, then annexed. This would have taken place, even though the Curse which hastened that event, and has alloyed its consequences with evils not yet fully disclosed, had not been the immediate cause.

But the stronger race has overlooked its limits; it has passed to the Nueces, and then, by a second thought, to the Rio Grande, thus adding, at one stroke, three hundred thousand square miles to its territory, grasping one-third of the western shore of the Gulf of Mexico, and bringing itself a thousand miles nearer the Pacific. The weaker race feels itself aggrieved; and for good reason. It has been foully deceived. What has happened, would have happened, had there been no slavery to precipitate the result; but slavery has made the operation more rapid, and has placed the operation on a national cause, placing in such a way as Justice might have sanctioned.

Has the force of these natural causes, however, now spent itself? Have we acquired a natural boundary? Have we sufficient power, or have we a large standing army, just for the purpose of murdering the Mexicans, till they are subjected, or were exterminated? Whatever else they may do, they would turn out any Administration that could contemplate such an atrocity.

What, then, is to be done? Suppose, inasmuch as Slavery and War have hurried the march of American Empire, and plunged us into "fittings without and fears within," we now divorce American Progress from these influences, and anticipate the course of events, by procuring the cessation of all hostilities on our side, and on the good faith of the proper way, submitting to every State in Mexico, having the requisite number of inhabitants, the proposition to enter, if it so chooses, into the American Union, upon a footing of equality with the original States. This plan seems startling, but let us examine—First, its relations to Justice; Secondly, to the Federal Constitution; Thirdly, to Expediency.

Let us first consider the right of a State to dissolve its connection with the rest, for good and sufficient cause, of which it must be the sole judge. The New England States have the right, to-day, to secede from a Government which has been prostituted to the support of

slavery, and to set up for themselves. We have never questioned the right of South Carolina to do what she has so often threatened, nor will Southern statesmen, who have always been in the habit of contemplating a dissolution of the Union in certain contingencies, dispute this right of independent election, in Union, whether she shall remain in the Union or go out of it. While in it, of course, she is bound to obey the laws it constitutionally imposes. The alternative is, obedience or secession. We always denounced the foul dealing of the United States towards Mexico, and opposed the annexation of Texas, on account of its relation to Slavery, but never doubted its perfect right to dispose of itself as it saw proper. We maintained the same position as to the right of the settlers and natives of Oregon to dispose of their territory.

In relation to right or justice, then, there could not be the slightest objection to the submission of a proposition of annexation to each of the sovereign States of Mexico, or to the free acceptance by each of such a proposition. Free acceptance, for each should be left perfectly free to decide for itself, and its decision ought then to be respected.

The second question regards the constitutionality, on our part, of such an act. This, if we understand the matter, has been settled by precedent. The American People have ratified the purchase, by Jefferson, of foreign territory, and the same authority has ratified the act of the American Congress, in passing a joint resolution for the annexation of a foreign State. If a foreign slave State could thus be annexed, there can be no doubt as to the power to annex, in a similar way, a foreign free State, or any number of them. We shall not now go behind that act of Congress, and its ratification by the American People.

The great question to be discussed, then, concerns the expediency of such annexation; and here we must take a wide range, as the subject is of vast importance, and embraces many points of view. First, as to the practicability (one element of expediency) of extending our Government over this immense territory. Some may doubt, but we have always held that the peculiar political system of this country is specially adapted to extended empire. State Governments will prevent the oppression of local interests by the Central Government, and provide of themselves efficiently for their promotion; and we can see no reason why the great interests of peace and war, commerce with foreign nations and between the States, the public lands, and the treatment of the aborigines, of the whole continent, may not be as well cared for by one Central or Federal Government, as by many. Thus far, the extension of territory and multiplication of States, by weakening the proportionate power of faction, and generally, of local interests, adding to the dignity of the Federal Government, and increasing national spirit, have strengthened the bonds of union. The States were in far more danger during the last war, and before it, of falling apart, than they have ever been since.

In a few years, a State, formed in Oregon, will be knocking for admission into the Union. By the Constitution, it is provided that the election for President shall be held on one day in all the States. Congress, when the State of Oregon shall have been admitted, will be obliged to amend the law on this subject, so that the election may be held at an earlier day, to allow time for the transmission of the vote in Oregon. Last Thursday, the news was received in this city of the arrival of Messrs. Shaw and Belden, at St. Louis, on the 6th inst., direct from Oregon, having left the frontier settlements on the 5th of May—three months from the frontier of the Oregon settlements to St. Louis! And yet, no one dreams of the impossibility of extending our Federal Government over Oregon. American enterprise, we know, availing itself of the discoveries of modern times, will, in due season, annihilate distance, and bring this portion of our Pacific empire in close fellowship with the old States. Now, there is scarcely any part of Mexico, which, even at this time, without the construction of suitable roads, may not be reached within one-third of the time required for the journey to the mouth of the Columbia, the greater portion of it is as readily accessible as our territory between St. Louis and the Rocky Mountains, and a large portion of it is far more so. We go from Washington to New Orleans in seven days; from New Orleans to Vera Cruz in three or four; from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico in four more. With proper improvements, we shall be able to reach the city of Mexico from the capital of the United States in twelve or thirteen days, and by the telegraphic wires receive intelligence from there in a few hours! The city of Mexico, be it remembered, is in the 19th degree of north latitude, while the Mexican territory stretches up as high as 42 degrees; so that a great portion of it lies nearer the United States. Yucatan, bending upwards, as if to approximate still more closely, indents the Gulf to a point as high as 23 degrees. The truth is, a place as accessible as Mexico, and as large as the United States, could be reached by a single day's journey, and the parts of which may be easily made accessible to each other, between which intelligence may be rapidly communicated, all of which, if under one political system, would possess a remarkable community of interests.

So much for the practicability of the project. Let us glance at its advantages. It would extend the principle of free trade, already in active operation between the States of this Union, to nearly the whole North American continent. It would give to Mexico the principle of Religious Toleration, without interfering with her religious faith. It would establish, throughout her borders, free institutions. It would confer upon her people personal security. It would open the way for, and hold out inducements to, enterprising immigrants. It would bring her soil under a better cultivation, stimulate the growth of manufactures and augment indefinitely her commerce. It would lead to the institution of the Common School system of education. It would put an end to military rule and warring revolutions. It would open to the New England manufacturers a new and valuable market for their wares. Hitherto our trade with Mexico has been inconsiderable, considering the proximity and wealth of the two countries; and, for many years before, it had been steadily decreasing, while England was carrying on a profitable and brisk commerce with Mexico. It would add vastly to the commerce of this whole country, and open a new field for the enterprise of our citizens.

It would increase the power and influence of the Union, and forever put to rest all projects for the establishment of a monarchical system upon this continent, and for the play of European interests and tactics. It would settle our present difficulty with Mexico at once, without any unpleasant controversies about indemnity, without any humiliation to our sister Republic, without leaving any trace of animosity, without suffering to remain open any question for future wrangling, any opportunity or chance for future collision.

It would establish the peace of the continent on a perpetual basis. It would settle the question of the right of a State to dissolve its connection with the rest, for good and sufficient cause, of which it must be the sole judge. The New England States have the right, to-day, to secede from a Government which has been prostituted to the support of

slavery, and to set up for themselves. We have never questioned the right of South Carolina to do what she has so often threatened, nor will Southern statesmen, who have always been in the habit of contemplating a dissolution of the Union in certain contingencies, dispute this right of independent election, in Union, whether she shall remain in the Union or go out of it. While in it, of course, she is bound to obey the laws it constitutionally imposes. The alternative is, obedience or secession. We always denounced the foul dealing of the United States towards Mexico, and opposed the annexation of Texas, on account of its relation to Slavery, but never doubted its perfect right to dispose of itself as it saw proper. We maintained the same position as to the right of the settlers and natives of Oregon to dispose of their territory.

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In a few years, a State, formed in Oregon, will be knocking for admission into the Union. By the Constitution, it is provided that the election for President shall be held on one day in all the States. Congress, when the State of Oregon shall have been admitted, will be obliged to amend the law on this subject, so that the election may be held at an earlier day, to allow time for the transmission of the vote in Oregon. Last Thursday, the news was received in this city of the arrival of Messrs. Shaw and Belden, at St. Louis, on the 6th inst., direct from Oregon, having left the frontier settlements on the 5th of May—three months from the frontier of the Oregon settlements to St. Louis! And yet, no one dreams of the impossibility of extending our Federal Government over Oregon. American enterprise, we know, availing itself of the discoveries of modern times, will, in due season, annihilate distance, and bring this portion of our Pacific empire in close fellowship with the old States. Now, there is scarcely any part of Mexico, which, even at this time, without the construction of suitable roads, may not be reached within one-third of the time required for the journey to the mouth of the Columbia, the greater portion of it is as readily accessible as our territory between St. Louis and the Rocky Mountains, and a large portion of it is far more so. We go from Washington to New Orleans in seven days; from New Orleans to Vera Cruz in three or four; from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico in four more. With proper improvements, we shall be able to reach the city of Mexico from the capital of the United States in twelve or thirteen days, and by the telegraphic wires receive intelligence from there in a few hours! The city of Mexico, be it remembered, is in the 19th degree of north latitude, while the Mexican territory stretches up as high as 42 degrees; so that a great portion of it lies nearer the United States. Yucatan, bending upwards, as if to approximate still more closely, indents the Gulf to a point as high as 23 degrees. The truth is, a place as accessible as Mexico, and as large as the United States, could be reached by a single day's journey, and the parts of which may be easily made accessible to each other, between which intelligence may be rapidly communicated, all of which, if under one political system, would possess a remarkable community of interests.

So much for the practicability of the project. Let us glance at its advantages. It would extend the principle of free trade, already in active operation between the States of this Union, to nearly the whole North American continent. It would give to Mexico the principle of Religious Toleration, without interfering with her religious faith. It would establish, throughout her borders, free institutions. It would confer upon her people personal security. It would open the way for, and hold out inducements to, enterprising immigrants. It would bring her soil under a better cultivation, stimulate the growth of manufactures and augment indefinitely her commerce. It would lead to the institution of the Common School system of education. It would put an end to military rule and warring revolutions. It would open to the New England manufacturers a new and valuable market for their wares. Hitherto our trade with Mexico has been inconsiderable, considering the proximity and wealth of the two countries; and, for many years before, it had been steadily decreasing, while England was carrying on a profitable and brisk commerce with Mexico. It would add vastly to the commerce of this whole country, and open a new field for the enterprise of our citizens.

It would increase the power and influence of the Union, and forever put to rest all projects for the establishment of a monarchical system upon this continent, and for the play of European interests and tactics. It would settle our present difficulty with Mexico at once, without any unpleasant controversies about indemnity, without any humiliation to our sister Republic, without leaving any trace of animosity, without suffering to remain open any question for future wrangling, any opportunity or chance for future collision.

It would establish the peace of the continent on a perpetual basis. It would settle the question of the right of a State to dissolve its connection with the rest, for good and sufficient cause, of which it must be the sole judge. The New England States have the right, to-day, to secede from a Government which has been prostituted to the support of

slavery, and to set up for themselves. We have never questioned the right of South Carolina to do what she has so often threatened, nor will Southern statesmen, who have always been in the habit of contemplating a dissolution of the Union in certain contingencies, dispute this right of independent election, in Union, whether she shall remain in the Union or go out of it. While in it, of course, she is bound to obey the laws it constitutionally imposes. The alternative is, obedience or secession. We always denounced the foul dealing of the United States towards Mexico, and opposed the annexation of Texas, on account of its relation to Slavery, but never doubted its perfect right to dispose of itself as it saw proper. We maintained the same position as to the right of the settlers and natives of Oregon to dispose of their territory.

In relation to right or justice, then, there could not be the slightest objection to the submission of a proposition of annexation to each of the sovereign States of Mexico, or to the free acceptance by each of such a proposition. Free acceptance, for each should be left perfectly free to decide for itself, and its decision ought then to be respected.

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